

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 13962 01 OF 02 201620Z

46

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 L-03 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00

SAJ-01 DODE-00 IO-13 PRS-01 /064 W

----- 066252

O R 201604Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1238

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 13962

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR WB GW US UK FR UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR EXCHANGE OF TELEGRAMS ON
QA ANNIVERSARY

REFS: (A) MOSCOW 13079; (B) BONN 13756;
(C) STATE 204050; (D) BONN 12871; (E) LONDON 13100

BEGIN SUMMARY. FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES FEELS
STRONGLY THAT THE THREE ALLIES SHOULD AGREE TO THE
SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR AN EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES ON THE
SEPTEMBER 3 ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE QUADRI-
PARTITE AGREEMENT. FOR THE FIRST TIME, WE HAVE BEEN TOLD
THAT SAUVAGNARGUES HAS MADE A COMMITMENT TO THE SOVIETS
FOR SUCH AN EXCHANGE; HE IS PRESSING FOR A REVERSAL OF
US AND BRITISH INSTRUCTIONS. END
SUMMARY.

1. FRENCH AMBASSADOR WORMSER, WHO HAS JUST RETURNED TO
BONN FROM PARIS, CALLED ON ME AT NOON TODAY (AUGUST 20).

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 13962 01 OF 02 201620Z

HE SAID THAT SAUVAGNARGUES RETURNED TO PARIS YESTERDAY

FROM HIS HOLIDAY AND, AFTER BEING BROUGHT UP TO DATE ON DISCUSSIONS OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR AN EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES, INSTRUCTED WORMSER TO TAKE UP THE MATTER WITH THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AND MYSELF ON AN URGENT BASIS.

2. ACCORDING TO WORMSER, SAUVAGNARGUES FELT THAT, IN HIS ORIGINAL REACTION TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL AS CONVEYED BY AMBASSADOR CHERVONENKO, HE HAD COMMITTED HIMSELF TO SOME SORT OF EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES. SAUVAGNARGUES ALSO REPORTEDLY SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THAT THE POSITION OF THE US AND UK GOVERNMENTS WAS BEING TAKEN AT THE LEVEL OF CIVIL SERVANTS WHO DID NOT RECOGNIZE THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF REJECTING THE SOVIET PROPOSAL.

3. WORMSER HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT IF THE US AND BRITISH POSITIONS DID NOT CHANGE SAUVAGNARGUES WOULD INSTRUCT HIS AMBASSADORS IN WASHINGTON AND LONDON TO RAISE THE MATTER AS A POLITICAL ISSUE. SAYING THAT HE WAS SPEAKING PERSONALLY, WORMSER ADDED THAT, IF THE US AND UK REFUSED TO GO ALONG, HE THOUGHT THE FRENCH WOULD PROBABLY IN ANY CASE ENTER INTO A BILATERAL EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES WITH THE SOVIETS.

4. SAUVAGNARGUES HAD ALSO ASKED WORMSER TO SAY THAT, IN HIS VIEW, THE TEXT OF THE MESSAGES DID NOT HAVE TO BE COORDINATED WITH THE SOVIETS, NOR WOULD IT BE NECESSARY TO ALLUDE TO COMPLIANCE OR NON-COMPLIANCE WITH THE QA. SAUVAGNARGUES THOUGHT THE ALLIED MESSAGES NEED CONTAIN ONLY TWO ELEMENTS -- THAT THIS IS THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING, AND THAT THE QA WAS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE PROCESS OF DETENTE.

5. I RESPONDED THAT, WHILE I HAD NO PRECISE INFORMATION ON THE ORIGIN OF OUR INSTRUCTIONS (REF B), I HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY HAD BEEN CONSIDERED AT POLITICAL LEVELS OF THE DEPARTMENT AND DID NOT JUST MERELY REPRESENT THE VIEWS OF LINE OFFICIALS. I SAID THAT I WOULD OF COURSE REPORT WORMSER'S APPROACH, BUT THAT BARRING A CHANGE IN THE BRITISH AND GERMAN POSITIONS I DID NOT THINK THERE WOULD BE ANY BASIS FOR A CHANGE IN

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BONN 13962 01 OF 02 201620Z

OUR OWN POSITION.

6. BORROWING EMBASSY MOSCOW'S IDEA (REF A), I ALSO ADDED ON A PERSONAL BASIS THAT ONE THOUGHT WHICH HAD EMERGED -- ALTHOUGH IT HAD NOT BEEN COMMENTED ON BY THE DEPARTMENT -- WAS THAT THERE MIGHT BE AN EASY WAY OF TURNING DOWN THE SOVIET PROPOSAL BY POINTING OUT THAT THE JUNE ANNIVERSARY OF THE DATE ON WHICH THE FOUR

MINISTERS HAD BROUGHT THE QA INTO EFFECT WAS IN A SENSE
A MORE SIGNIFICANT DATE THAN THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE
SIGNING OF THE QA BY THE FOUR AMBASSADORS, AND THAT NEXT
JUNE MIGHT BE A MORE APPROPRIATE TIME TO CONSIDER AN
EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES. WORMSER REGISTERED THE POINT BUT
DID NOT COMMENT ON IT.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 13962 02 OF 02 201622Z

46

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02

SS-15 PRS-01 IO-13 SAJ-01 L-03 /064 W

----- 066272

O R 201604Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1239

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 13962

7. ACCORDING TO OUR BRITISH COLLEAGUES, THE FRENCH DCM
MADE A PARALLEL APPROACH THIS MORNING TO UK CHARGE
BULLARD. BULLARD REPORTEDLY OBSERVED THAT THE FRENCH
PROCEDURE WAS CURIOUS, AS THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME WE
HAD BEEN TOLD THAT SAUVAGNARGUES HAD COMMITTED HIMSELF
TO CHERVONENKO. (COMMENT: AS REPORTED IN REF D, WE AND
THE BRITISH HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN TOLD ONLY THAT
SAUVAGNARGUES TOLD CHERVONENKO THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO
THINK ABOUT THE PROPOSAL BUT THAT HIS INITIAL REACTION

WAS NOT NEGATIVE.)

8. BULLARD ALSO ARGUED WITH THE FRENCH ON THE DESIRABILITY OF AN EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES, POINTING OUT THAT IT SEEMED CLEAR THE SOVIETS WERE ATTEMPTING TO ELEVATE THE STATUS OF THE QA ABOVE THAT OF THE EARLIER QUADRIpartite AGREEMENTS AND ARRANGEMENTS. HE SAID HE DID NOT SEE WHAT THE ALLIES HAD TO GAIN FROM THE SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 13962 02 OF 02 201622Z

EXCHANGE, THAT IT WOULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD BY THE GERMANS IN THE LIGHT OF THE CURRENT BORDER DIFFICULTIES, AND THAT A COURTEOUS EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH THE STRONG SOVIET PROTEST ON THE PARTICIPATION OF BERLIN IN DIRECT ELECTIONS. THE FRENCH DCM RESPONDED THAT THE FACT THAT THERE WERE DIFFICULTIES IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QA SHOULD COME AS A SURPRISE TO NO ONE AND DID NOT ALTER THE FACT THAT THE QA WAS BASICALLY A POSITIVE DOCUMENT. FOR THIS REASON, THE FRENCH BELIEVED THAT WE SHOULD MEET THE SOVIET REQUEST, EVEN IF THE ALLIED MESSAGES WERE ONLY ANODYNE.

9. COMMENT. THE FRENCH APPARENTLY DO NOT INTEND TO REOPEN THE ISSUE WITH THE GERMANS AT THIS POINT, BELIEVING THAT THE ISSUE IS ONE FOR THE ALLIES TO DECIDE. NEVERTHELESS, THE GERMAN BONN GROUP REP WAS PROBABLY CORRECT IN EXPRESSING THE VIEW EARLIER THIS WEEK (REF B) THAT THE FRG GOVERNMENT WOULD CONSIDER IT RIDICULOUS TO EXCHANGE MESSAGES AT THIS POINT, AFTER THE AUGUST 13 TRANSIT VIOLATIONS. JUDGING FROM EMBASSY LONDON'S MOST RECENT REPORT (REF E), IT ALSO SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE WILL BE EASILY PERSUADED.

10. THERE IS, OF COURSE, A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THIS ISSUE AND THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE ALLIES ARE GOING TO PROTEST TO THE SOVIETS OVER THE AUGUST 13 INCIDENTS (THE PROTEST QUESTION WILL BE DISCUSSED AGAIN IN THE BONN GROUP LATE THIS AFTERNOON). SUCH A PROTEST -- PARTICULARLY IF DONE AS WE PREFER AT A HIGH LEVEL -- WOULD MAKE AN EXCHANGE OF ANNIVERSARY MESSAGES ALL THE MORE INCRONGROUS. SAUVAGNARGUES' INSISTENCE ON GOING THROUGH WITH THE EXCHANGE IS CONSISTENT WITH THE FRENCH DESIRE TO MAKE ANY PROTEST ON THE TRANSIT INCIDENT PRO FORMA BY KEEPING IT AT THE BERLIN POLAD LEVEL. BOTH POSITIONS REFLECT A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF FRENCH ANNOYANCE AT A SEEMING GERMAN WISH TO DICTATE ALLIED POSITIONS AND AN UNWILLINGNESS TO MAKE ALLOWANCES FOR ELECTION-INSPIRED DIFFICULTIES ON THE GERMAN SIDE. BUT IN WANTING TO ABIDE BY HIS COMMITMENT TO CHERVONENKO ON THE ANNIVERSARY

EXCHANGE, SAUVAGNARGUES IS OVERLOOKING SUBSEQUENT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BONN 13962 02 OF 02 201622Z

EVENTS -- THE JULY 24 BORDER INCIDENTS, THE UNUSUAL
SOVIET BEHAVIOR IN PUBLISHING THE HIGH-LEVEL AUGUST 3
PROTEST ON BERLIN AND THE EC, AND THE AUGUST 13
INTERFERENCE WITH TRANSIT TO BERLIN. AND ANNOYANCE AT
THE GERMANS FOR NOT MAKING A BIGGER FUSS OVER THE
AUGUST 13 INCIDENTS OVERLOOKS THE FACT THAT ACCESS TO
BERLIN IS IN THE FIRST INSTANCE A MATTER BETWEEN THE
THREE ALLIES AND THE SOVIETS.
HILLENBRAND

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENTS, BERLIN QUADRIpartite MATTERS, COMMEMORATIVE CELEBRATIONS, CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 AUG 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976BONN13962
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760320-0001
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760835/aaaabeik.tel
Line Count: 239
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 MOSCOW 13079, 76 BONN 13756, 76 STATE 204050, 76 BONN 12871, 76 LONDON 13100
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 APR 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <10 AUG 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR EXCHANGE OF TELEGRAMS ON QA ANNIVERSARY
TAGS: PFOR, WB, GE, US, UK, FR, UR
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006